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reflexes, was a deeply religious man. Moscow caused him no trouble over this because he was an eminent scientist and because he was old. The creator of the theory of conditioned reflexes—the very theory that constitutes one of the strongest arguments against the existence of some sort of constant called "human nature"! The defenders of religion maintain that this "human nature" cannot change completely; that gods and churches have existed over thousands of years and in all kinds of civilizations, and that one can expect this to be true of the future as well. What went on in Professor Pavlov's head if two systems of concepts, one scientific and one religious, existed simultaneously there?

The Party teaches that "existence shapes consciousness," that circumstances alter men. But it matters little whether religious drives result from "human nature" or from centuries of conditioning; they exist. During the war against Hitler, the Soviet Union had to dust off its priests as well as appeal to nationalistic feelings. When imminent death brings that moment of absurd revelation that *everything is senseless,* dialectical materialism suddenly discloses its mathematical structure. Man falls from the industriously built bridges. He prefers to surrender to the magic of icons.

In its own fashion, the Party too is a church. Its dictatorship over the earth and its transformation of the human species depend on the success with which it can channel irrational human drives and use them to its own ends. No, logical arguments are not enough. "Club" ceremonies, poetry, novels, films are so important because they reach deeper into the stratum on which the emotional conflict rages. No other church can be tolerated; Christianity is Public Enemy No. 1. It fosters all the skepticism of the masses as to the radical transformation of mankind. If,

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000 The assertion that historical guilt is individual guilt *per se* is nothing more than the subterfuge of a guilty and lying conscience. This does not mean that one can put off the problem of historical guilt with easy generalizations. Stupidity, i.e. inability to understand the mechanism of events, can cause tremendous suffering. In this sense, the Polish commanders who gave the order to start the Warsaw uprising in 1944 are guilty of stupidity, and their guilt has an individual character. Another individual guilt, however, weighs upon the command of the Red Army which refused to aid the insurgents—not out of stupidity, but on the contrary out of a full understanding of "historical processes," i.e. a correct evaluation of power.

One more example of guilt through stupidity is the attitude of various societies toward thinkers, writers, or artists whose vision reached into the future and whose works were largely incomprehensible to their contemporaries. The critic who denied the value of these works might have acted in good faith, but by his stupidity he condemned men of incomparably greater worth than himself to poverty, even persecution. The specific trick of the Christian-Stalinists is to lump these two concepts of guilt, individual and historical, together, while it is only in a few instances that these concepts coincide.

152 ● 659 Catholics who accept the Party line gradually lose everything except the phraseology of their Christian metaphysics. The true content of their faith becomes the Method by a psychological process well-known to Christians in the people's democracies. The existence of a large number of loyal half-Christians in the subjugated part of Europe could have a tremendous effect on the Imperium's political plans. Toleration and even support of these "Christian-patriots," as they are called, enables the Center to avoid a dangerous conflict. The transition from Chris-

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tianity to a cult of History takes place imperceptibly. Without doubt, the greatest success of the Imperium would come if it could install a Party-line pope in the Vatican. A mass in the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome performed by such a pope, with the assistance of dignitaries from those subjugated countries which are predominately Catholic, would be one of the most important steps toward the consolidation of the world empire.

Christians who serve the Eastern Imperium ingeniously resolve the problem posed by Jesus' words "Render therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and unto God the things that are God's." Until now the contrast between the ordinary man and Caesar has never been effaced. Christianity guaranteed this division by teaching that every man had his own history, distinct from the history of the social group or the nation to which he belonged. If, as is taught today from the Elbe to Vladivostok, the history of every man is nothing more than the reflection of the history of his class, and if his class is personified in Caesar, then it is clear that the man who rebels against Caesar rebels against himself. Christians who agree to this thesis prove they no longer believe in God's judgment of each man's acts. Fear that History will damn them eternally motivates their submission.

The Party knows that the conflict between true Christianity and the Revolution is fundamental. The Revolution aims at the highest goal the human species has ever set for itself on earth, the end of "man's exploitation of man." To do this, it must replace man's desire for profit with a feeling of collective responsibility as a motive for action. This is a distant and honorable goal. Probably it will not be reached quickly; and probably, too, for a long period it will be necessary to maintain a constant terror in order to instill that feeling of responsibility by force.

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156 But Christianity contains a dual set of values; it recognizes man to be a "child of God" and also a member of society. As a member of society, he must submit to the established order so long as that order does not hinder him in his prime task of saving his soul. Only by effacing this dualism, i.e. raising man as a purely social creature, can the Party release the forces of hatred in him that are necessary to the realization of the new world.

156 The masses in highly industrialized countries like Eng-
● 659 land, the United States, or France are largely de-Christianized. Technology, and the way of life it produces, undermines Christianity far more effectively than do violent measures. The erosion of religious beliefs is also taking place in Central and Eastern Europe. There, the core of the problem is to avoid galvanizing the forces of Christianity by some careless misstep. It would be an act of unforgivable carelessness, for example, to close the churches suddenly and prohibit all religious practice. Instead, one should try to split the Church in two. Part of the clergy must be compromised as reactionaries and "foreign agents"—a rather easy task, given the utterly conservative mentality of many priests. The other part must be bound to the state as closely as the Orthodox Church is in Russia, so that it becomes a tool of the government. A completely submissive Church—one that may on occasion collaborate with the security police—loses authority in the eyes of the pious. Such a Church can be preserved for decades, until the moment when it dies a natural death due to a lack of adherents.

So there are measures that can be taken even against
156 the Church, this last stronghold of opposition. Nevertheless, the masses in the people's democracies behave like a man who wants to cry out in his sleep and cannot find his voice. They not only dare not speak, they do not know

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of the State, to an extent undreamed of in Czarist Russia. We were wont, many of us, to make uncomplimentary references to the clergy of the old regime. Some of the strictures were too sweeping. But, alas, what we must be prepared to say about the Russian Church under the Soviets is far more devastating. It has become an institution which all but blesses the concentration camp system, and escorts slave labor to its doom with a kind of liturgical brass band.

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The Soviet objective is to reduce religious organizations outside Russia to the status of the Orthodox Church at home. The formula is always and everywhere the same, though it may be applied with greater or lesser rigor. Therefore inevitably the Vatican becomes the great antagonist, to be fought with every means. The Holy See, pledged to the profession of the Christian Gospels without dilution of the ethical obligations which they impose upon everyone who accepts them in the Catholic sense, cannot agree that the Church is to be an instrument of the State —even, indeed, a benign and merciful instrument. The Vatican is therefore the ignoble Fascist Beast of the Bolshevik Apocalypse. Upon the heads of persons who remain loyal to the ancient See of Catholic Christendom, blows have rained in constant succession. This is the direst persecution the Church has suffered since the days of the Caesars.

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Because most of what may be reported concerns the Catholic Church, a brief review of its history and endeavors in Eastern Europe will help to bring events into perspective. The cleavage of the Roman Empire, establishing the rivalry between the emperors of Rome and Byzantium, begot two Churches also, each claiming for itself the charisma of Apostolic Christianity. With the passing of time, profound differences of a dogmatic, moral, and canonical kind developed. The organizational character of religion was also modified radically, so that, while in the East the ties binding the religious nations to the historic pa-

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797 tive in Russia at the request of the government, bringing food,
659 clothing, and medicine to many tens of thousands. Yet even while this work of charity was in progress, priests and prelates
798 were sentenced to death and executed, churches were looted
648 and closed, and many of the faithful were exiled. The Bolsheviks insisted that, until the Vatican recognized the regime as a lawfully constituted government, clergymen professing allegiance to Rome must be regarded as enemies; Russian émigré circles were just as vehement in demanding that no such recognition be accorded; and circles representative of the Orthodox Church opposed even the Papal Relief Mission, on the ground that its directors were in reality proselytizers. In the circumstances, the Vatican tried to carry on its relief work as long as possible, and to use whatever influence it could muster to save the persecuted bishops and priests. In the end, however, the isolated remnants of Roman Catholicism in Russia lost even
E the remotest hope that Rome could do anything for them.

● 659 The countries west of Russia, most of them newly estab-
186 lished, presented less formidable obstacles to the mission of
795 the Church; but in not a few of them conditions were turbulent enough. In Czechoslovakia, for example, insurgent nationalism combined with anticlericalism to create within the Catholic clergy a sizable group who not only wished to rid the Church of every vestige of association with the Habsburgs but also strove to "reform" the ecclesiastical organization itself and to do away with such constraints as celibacy. However, the secession and subsequent excommunication of this group led to a great strengthening of the loyal majority. Catholics were collectively more resolute, and by 1925 the fever had abated, and relations between Church and State were established on a solid foundation. Elsewhere the story was similar, though perhaps less stormy and tawdry.

000 In attempting to visualize the complex continuous effort by

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In attempting to visualize the complex continuous effort by the Church in these lands to educate the people and to meet their physical and spiritual needs we deal not with an island in the stream of modern life—as we should if, for example, we set out to evaluate the influence of religion on the art, music, and architecture of present-day America—but verily with that stream itself. For example, the press that appeared under Catholic auspices in Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia was a mighty force, in all its ramifications from the daily newspaper to the monthly periodical, for the shaping of public opinion. On the other hand, hospitals and refuges, schools and day nurseries, conducted for the most part under the supervision of religious orders, were almost the only institutions of such character to be found in some countries. Therefore the Communist onslaught upon this manifold activity was not merely against tradition but verily against action. It could not have succeeded unless its directors were safely established behind a dense array of Russian machine guns. It was an invasion resembling in some respects the earlier inroads from the East under which all these lands had suffered not once but many times. Assuredly the men in the Vatican, pondering the news each day, must often have let their thought return to times when Turk and Tartar bombarded the ancient citadels of once Christian Europe.

We shall now summarize, though of necessity far too briefly, Protestant efforts to establish ecumenical union with the Russian Orthodox Church. On the one hand they resulted to some extent from the failure during the Pontificate of Pope Leo XIII to prepare the way for the union of the Anglican Church with Rome. This failure, it will be recalled, was in large measure due to Rome's decision that Anglican Orders were not valid. On the other hand, Protestant Churches in Eastern Europe often felt that the attitude of Russian Orthodoxy toward the State was more compatible with the traditional views of

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795 659 Protestantism than were those of Roman Catholicism. Lutherans, for example, were not averse to identifying their Church with a political power; but their belief that the Kingdom of God and the kingdoms of this world are radically different also led to the conclusion that the Church could accept responsibility for approving or opposing actions by the State only when these controverted directly the moral and religious truths which had been made explicit in the teachings of the Lord Jesus. Thus a section of the German Lutheran Church opposed Nazism with sublime courage because Hitler had repudiated in principle such central teachings as that of the validity of Christian baptism when administered to persons of Jewish origin.

795 668 But Protestants viewed with uneasiness the Catholic practice of creating organizations of the faithful for political and social action—which led in Germany to the creation of the Center Party on the basis of organizational efforts that had their origin in 1840. This was by no means merely an opportunistic reaction, even though upon occasion ecclesiastical rivalry may have played a part. While some loyal Protestants cooperated with and even voted for the Center Party, even as did a number of Jews, the great majority felt—no doubt, upon occasion, quite properly—that partisan activity brought the Church into realms where religious teaching was compromised for the sake of political expediency. This cleavage was intensified after Karl Barth and his associates formulated a neo-orthodox theology whose profound influence extended beyond Germany to Calvinism and Lutheranism in the whole of Eastern Europe. How strongly this criticism affected Catholic practice cannot be discussed here; but it may be pointed out that, during much of the Pontificate of Pius XI, Rome contemplated withdrawing the faithful completely from organizations of a political and social character, and building up instead the groups which received the generic name Catholic Action. Only toward the close of his

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Antireligioznik declared that half the industrial proletariat believed in God and it was almost impossible to find atheists in the villages. 771

According to Timasheff: 'In 1938, the official paper of the Militant Atheists League acknowledged that churches in rural districts were well attended and that young people often observed religious holidays. According to the same journal, a large number of children were seen in the churches of Moscow at the Easter service in 1939; and at Christmas, in the Tambov and Voronezh provinces, many children took part during school hours in processions in honour of the Nativity. In the Tambov province, seven tenths of the children were absent from school on Christmas day and celebrated the Feast in their homes. In Moscow and Tiflis, children with candles in their hands prayed in the churches. In Kursk many children were absent from school during Lent, and attended church and received Holy Communior. In the province of Riazan, many received Holy Communion at the Easter mass, and in the Smolensk province, they took an active part in ceremonies linked with Easter'. (Ibid. p. 67).

It is very natural that Yaroslavski met the situation with a despairing cry: 'It is impossible to build up Communism in a society half of which believes in God and the other half fears the devil.' (*Bezbozhnik*, 1939, No. 14).

The defeat of the 'Five Year Plan of Atheism' cannot be explained only, or even mainly, by opposition of the pre-revolutionary generation, as four-fifths of the present population of U.S.S.R. was either born after the October Revolution or were not yet adult when it broke out, so that they were educated in the schools of the new regime; moreover, the Communist Party had limitless means of propaganda, while the priests did not publish a single paper or book.

The 'Five Year Plan of Atheism' failed because the 'real misery' of the people did not abate. The logic of reality was stronger than all the ukazes of the Kremlin and, confronted with this, Stalin made a complete *volte face*, from the persecution of religion to its regimentation. 659

By 1935 it had already become clear to the Government that the policy of suppression had failed and the turn began then. At Easter, 1935, religious tokens began to be sold in both state

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● 659 and co-operative shops, and at Christmas of the same year Christmas trees were to be found even in the trade union clubs. Such a thing could not happen in Russia unless a special government order were made to that effect. Such an order contradicts the principle of the separation of Church and State no less than the persecution of religion.

The war greatly accelerated the process of the regimentation of the Church. On August 21st, 1941, Radio Moscow appealed to 'all God-loving inhabitants of the occupied countries' to rise in defence of religious freedom. It charged the Nazi regime with menacing 'the very existence of Christianity and seeking the overthrow of Christ the King, to instal instead the myth of the twentieth century of Alfred Rosenberg'. On November 18th, 1941, at a banquet in honour of American and British guests, Stalin said: 'May God help President Roosevelt in his task'. The papers of the Militant Atheists League, *Bezbozhnik* and *Antireligioznik*, were closed because of 'paper shortage' (September 30th and October 6th, 1941) and at the same time, from the same press which formerly printed these papers, religious literature began to pour out. It is, incidentally, an example of the 'democracy' prevailing in Russia that although there were over three million members of the League, not one letter of protest or of doubt about the wisdom of the decision to stop the publication of their paper, appeared in the press. Who knows but that the very same officials who wrote *Bezbozhnik* and *Antireligioznik* may then have been the authors of the religious literature?

On October 8th, 1943, the Russian Government established a Soviet Council on Orthodox Affairs, which, by August 1st, 1945, had opened ten theological seminaries. Its chairman, Karpov, a Party bureaucrat, who had no previous connection with the Church, stated that there were now more churches and more priests in Russia than before the war. He declared that the Orthodox Church might 'print whatever it wishes', and stated that his Council had given 'explicit permission for the Church to order any quantity of Testaments, prayer books and liturgical books, and are ready to facilitate this step in every way.' (R. P. Casey, *Religion in Russia*, New York, 1946, p. 187).

After this it is hardly to be wondered at that the calendar of the Russian Orthodox Church includes among the saints no

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other than Lenin, who wrote of that very Church: 'That shameful and accursed past when the Church was in feudal dependence on the State and Russian citizens were in feudal dependence on the established Church'. The Church, however, conveniently forgets Lenin's words and rewrites its past. Thus Karpov said: 'The Russian Orthodox Church in the days of hard trial, which our Fatherland repeatedly underwent in the past, did not break its link with the people, it lived with their needs, their hopes, their wishes and contributed its mite to the common struggle . . .'

Religious Denominations in Eastern Europe

The experience of Russia has served the Kremlin as a pattern for its handling of the religious question in the satellite countries.

In these countries there are two main religious denominations, the Roman Catholic and the Greek Orthodox.

The available statistics on the distribution of population according to religion are pre-war censuses. Since then changes in boundaries, the migration of populations, and the annihilation of many people during the war, including nearly the whole of the Jewish population of these countries (of nearly 5 million Jews only 700 thousand remained) have made these statistics obsolete. But for lack of more recent data they will have to be used, and if care is taken the margin of error need not be too big.

There are big Roman Catholic communities in all the satellite countries except Bulgaria. In Poland, Roman Catholics comprise more than 90 per cent of the population, in Czechoslovakia 73 per cent, in Hungary 64 per cent, in Yugoslavia 37 per cent and in Rumania 6 per cent. In three of these countries there are considerable Greek Orthodox communities: in Bulgaria, 86 per cent of the population, in Rumania 70 per cent and in Yugoslavia 49 per cent. In Hungary and Czechoslovakia there are important Protestant minorities (26 per cent and 8 per cent of the population respectively). In Bulgaria, Moslems form 13 per cent of the population and in Yugoslavia 11 per cent.

The Communists' Attitude to the Orthodox Church

From the beginning the Communist Parties and Governments showed entirely different attitudes towards the Greek Orthodox

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659 and the Roman Catholic Churches. The Greek Orthodox Church was regimented, but at the same time it was supported as a loyal upholder of the Government. Numerous delegations came from the Greek Orthodox Church of Russia to the Greek Orthodox Churches of Bulgaria, Rumania and Yugoslavia.

In April, 1945, the Archbishop of Moscow, Gregory, who visited Bulgaria as a representative of the Russian Orthodox Church said (April 16th): 'The Bulgarian people are under the mighty protection of the Soviet Union . . . With the Orthodox religion and Slav feeling we must strengthen the friendship and unity between our peoples.' (*East Europe*, April 24th, 1945).

Dimitrov made an equally unambiguous pronouncement. On 28th May, 1946, he said: 'The Fatherland Front and the Communists in particular pay tribute to the patriots of our national Church. They are proud of a Church which gave to the people such faithful and honourable servants as Ivan Rilski . . . Today we have the right to demand that our Church shall continue to follow the traditions of a thousand years and that it shall indeed be a republican Church . . . Let them follow the example of the present heads of the Russian Church . . . ' (*East Europe*, 5th June, 1946).

A few days earlier the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Trade Unions ordered all branches to take an active part in the celebrations in honour of the Slav apostles, Cyril and Methodius on 24th May, 'to demonstrate the unbreakable unity between all Slav peoples in their fight against reaction and for the strengthening of democracy.'

After this it was not surprising that the Bulgarian Orthodox Church called upon the public in every election to vote for the Fatherland Front lists, nor that a special trade union (Orthodox Priests' Union) was formed, nor that the Fatherland Front Government introduced the following oath for a couple of years into the Bulgarian army: 'I swear before God, my conscience and my people . . . '

The Church in Rumania followed a similar course. On 17th March, 1945, Patriarch Nicodim gave the blessing of the Rumanian Orthodox Church to the Kremlin-appointed government of Groza. In a pastoral letter he urged the clergy and the faithful to give unreserved support to the King and the Government: 'Obey your superiors for the good of all

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concerned . . . cease domestic quarrels.' (*The New York Times*, 659 20th March, 1945).

The same Patriarch visited Russia and according to Premier Groza 'returned radiant with Christian joy at what he had seen in Russia.' (From a speech on November 10th, 1945, at the consecration of a Church in Brasov).

From then on the Rumanian Orthodox Church paid allegiance to the Moscow Patriarchate and supported the Government in every election, in every propaganda campaign.

In Yugoslavia, as many of the Orthodox Church hierarchy during the war supported General Nedić, the Serb quisling, Tito could not but punish a number of them severely. Thus, for instance, the Orthodox Bishop Nastić of Bosnia, was condemned to 11 years' imprisonment. Tito was even more severe towards the Catholic hierarchy who collaborated with the German and Italian Occupation Forces. Archbishop Stepinac, who openly collaborated with the quisling Pavelić, blessed his soldiers who murdered 800 thousand Serbs and received a high medal for his services, was condemned to 16 years' imprisonment. Another Archbishop and two Bishops were imprisoned. Because the religious division of Yugoslavia is almost identical with the national (the Croats and Slovenes being Catholics and the Serbs Orthodox) Tito could not show favouritism to the Orthodox Church without endangering the newly-won unity of the different peoples. Tito's government was the only one in Eastern Europe which passed an educational law abolishing *all* church schools and a land reform law confiscating nearly all the Church lands.

The Orthodox Church of Czechoslovakia, although incomparably weaker than in Bulgaria, Rumania or Yugoslavia, is not less vociferous in its enthusiasm for the Communist Government. Thus on New Year's Day, 1946, it gave its blessing to the establishment of socialism, Slav solidarity and the 'full eviction of all Germans without reservation'. A first-class Stalinist amalgam! After the February coup, on March 3rd, 1948, the Czech Orthodox Church issued a proclamation, welcoming the formation of the new Government as implying 'the return of the Czech nation to the Slav idea and the strengthening of our people's democracy, which is a guarantee of a happy future both for the State and the Church'.

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659 The policy of mutual support of the Orthodox Church and the state in Bulgaria and Rumania, does not mean that the two are coming together as equal and free agents, for the state subordinates the Church to itself. This is clearly shown by the new, reactionary and totalitarian Religious Laws of Bulgaria and Rumania.

Vassil Kolarov, the Foreign Minister at the time, introduced the Religious Law into the Bulgarian Parliament on 17th February, 1949. It asserts as a basic tenet that 'The Bulgarian Orthodox Church is the traditional church of the Bulgarian people and being inseparable from their history, is in form, substance and spirit a People's Democratic Church'. (Article 3). This cuts across the concept of the equality of all denominations (as well as of agnostics and atheists) before the law. There follows a whole series of regulations whose purport is to turn the Churches into state departments. *The Economist* of May 28th, 1949, sums up these regulations very well: 'The aim of the law is briefly to hand over the governance of the church to the state—through "a governing board responsible to the state"—and ensure the complete allegiance of pastors and priests (Article 9); to give the state power to remove all ministers who "work against the democratic regulations of the state" (Article 13); to stop all church appeals and addresses contrary to state regulations (Article 16); to forbid the mention of all state authorities or leaders in church services except in forms permitted by the Minister for Religion (Article 19); to transfer all hospitals, welfare centres, kindergartens or other charitable properties to the state (Article 22); to forbid all communications with lay or religious officials and institutions outside the country except by permission of the Minister (Article 24); to prevent any religious body with its centre outside the country from maintaining missions or churches in the country (Article 25); to impose penal servitude on all who use churches for political propaganda (of course, calling for support of the Communist Party is not political propaganda—Y.G.) (Article 30); and to submit all church statutes and regulations to the Minister (Article 32).'

The Orthodox Church is totally dependent financially on its benefactor, the State. In 1948, of its total expenses of 418 million leva, 370 million were met by state subsidies.

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The religious law in Rumania, enacted on 5th August, 1948, is similar to the Bulgarian law. 659

While the Orthodox Church is regimented as the *national Church*, as an agency of the state, the churches whose religious allegiance is not to Moscow, but to the West, inevitably become pariahs. Regimentation and persecution appear side by side.

The Communists' Attitude to the non-Orthodox Churches

The most glaring example of persecution is undoubtedly the treatment meted out to the Protestant priests by the Bulgarian Government. It is not necessary to enter into the details of the accusation made against the Protestant priests at their trial in Sofia in February, 1949, to be convinced that the whole trial was a political move by the State in its campaign to regiment religion. The Protestant Churches in Bulgaria had not the tarnished record of the Orthodox Church, which supported the monarchy in its alliance with Germany in the first and second world wars, blessed the militarists who carried out the *coups d'etat* of 1923 and 1934 and slaughtered tens of thousands of workers and peasants, abetted the semi-fascist dictatorships, and so on. The Protestant community is so small and uninfluential, constituting little more than 0,2 per cent of the whole population (15,744 out of 7,022,000) that it is inconceivable that it could cause serious harm to the people. Yet the Bulgarian Government put fourteen Protestant priests on trial and punished them severely, while it left the Orthodox Church hierarchy untouched.

The Catholic Church in Eastern Europe differs from both the Orthodox Church and the weak Protestant Church in Bulgaria. When Tsar Peter the Great was considering whether to ally the Russian Church with Rome, one factor finally decided him against doing so. This was, as one writer put it, that 'The Pope was a patriarch who would be unamenable to the Tsar and could not be deposed'. (R. P. Casey, op. cit. p. 13). Today this consideration is no less important in determining Stalin's attitude to the Vatican.

For a number of reasons the country in which the conflict between Moscow and Rome broke out in its most dramatic form was Hungary. The Achilles heel of the Catholic Church, 659 471

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659 471 which appeared to be so strong, lay in the fact that it was a big landowner connected by many ties with the big landlords. This seriously weakened it at a time when the peasants were in revolt against this medieval heritage. In such circumstances the use of religious sanctions to defend secular vested interests is sure to recoil on the Church hierarchy. History has provided ample evidence of this from the time of the Great French Revolution to that of the Spanish Civil War. In the fight against parasitic feudalism during the French Revolution, the resistance of the Church was no stronger than that of the lay nobility. Where the peasants did rally around the priests against revolutionary France, as in the Vendée, it was not because their religious feeling was outraged by the revolutionaries, but because of their attachment to their feudal masters. Where the peasants fought the nobility they also fought openly against the priests. This does not mean that the peasants were not religious. The belief that God watches over man and that there is another life after death, had much deeper roots than attachment to the priests and to the Church which was a big feudal landowning institution. This explains why the same peasants who fought so consistently against the priests between 1789 and 1794 were quite happy to accept the restoration of the Church in 1795 and the Concordat with the Vatican in 1801. When the Kremlin decided to destroy the strongholds of the Catholic Church in Eastern Europe, commonsense, if not a study of the French Revolution, showed them that the priests would be least powerful where they were most completely identified with big land ownership. This was particularly the case in Hungary. When Cardinal Mindszenty, the head of the Hungarian Catholic hierarchy, preached against the land reform and the peasants nevertheless went forward unhesitatingly to take the land which they had worked for centuries without getting all its yield, it was clear that he had lost not only this single battle but the whole war. Cardinal Mindszenty's opposition to the abolition of all titles of nobility, his insistence on being called 'Prince', went against the grain of the poor, downtrodden and suffering peasants. He could not save the day by his appeals to 'democracy' against 'communist tyranny', and so forth, for such words rang false when uttered by a man who for more than two

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decades had supported the White Terror and Horthy's dictatorship, who had preached the extermination of Communists and Socialists, had fulminated as a Magyar nationalist against the Slovaks, Rumanians and other Danubian nations who acquired territory from Hungary after 1918, and had welcomed the extermination of millions of Jews by the Nazis. When the Hungarian Parliament in June, 1948, passed a bill nationalising all Church-sponsored schools, Cardinal Mindszenty, in excommunicating all the Catholic deputies who supported the bill, certainly did not stand on democratic ground. The educational systems in the United States and Britain go much farther in secularisation than this bill, which still maintained compulsory religious instruction in schools to be given by monks and nuns.

In Poland and Czechoslovakia, where the Church was not a large landowner or an ally of the feudal opposition to land reform,* the Communist Parties were much more cautious.

In Poland, where the main church is the Roman Catholic Church, the Communist leaders were forced to find a *modus vivendi* with it. In a completely opportunistic manner they pandered to the wishes of the Church to an extent which would horrify bourgeois liberals, particularly the French Radicals, to say nothing of atheists.

Polish Facts and Figures, issued by the Polish Embassy in London, reports (December 11th, 1948): 'In contrast to most countries where land reform starts with the division of church lands, Polish land reform left the large church estates amounting to 841,300 acres untouched. In addition to leaving the church's lands untouched, the government also returned lands and goods taken away from the church by the Germans.'

'Religious instruction by priests is provided in each school as part of the school curriculum (government directive of December, 1926). The only children who may be exempted from religious instruction in schools are those whose parents

*This does not mean that the heads of the Catholic Church, especially Poland, were progressive. We need but mention one of them, the late Primate Cardinal Hlond. He found the time after the Kielce pogrom of 4th July, 1946, in which 41 Jews were killed, to accuse the Jews of backing the present regime and implied that the absurd medieval tales of Jewish ritual murder of Christian children—which had played their part in the pogrom—may not have been without foundation. This was but one incident in the career of this politician-clergyman, an enthusiastic supporter of the rule of the 'Colonels'.

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659 872 or guardians forward a written statement to the school that they do not wish their children to participate.

'The programme and text-books for teaching religion are prepared by church organs and submitted to the Ministry of Education. The text-books for all grades of elementary schools were prepared by a special commission attached to the Metropolitan Curia of Cracow.

'Children who attend religious classes participate in the following religious practices:—(a) On Sundays, holidays, and the beginning and end of the school year, they attend church services; (b) They participate in "recollections"; (c) A prayer is recited at the beginning and end of each school day.'

'A network of Catholic theological seminaries which prepare for priesthood and missionary work is spread throughout Poland.'

659 873 Another issue of *Polish Facts and Figures*, dated August 6th, 1949, gives the following facts about religion in Poland: 'Catholic clergymen enjoy many personal privileges which have long ago been abolished or restricted in other countries . . .

'Ecclesiastical seminaries have nearly 18,000 students. Three hundred children's homes, 15,000 pupils, 600 kindergartens with 22,000 children and 40 secondary schools with 9,000 students are under monastic management. The Catholic school system is crowned by the Lublin Catholic University.

659 793 'Poland is one of those few countries where religious teaching exists in schools. The 6,300 priests teaching religion are paid by the State.

'The number of religious orders has grown during the existence of the People's Poland. While in 1939 there were 1,742 monasteries and convents in Poland, there are now 2,010. The number of nuns has grown from 17,000 to nearly 19,000. Despite the housing shortage, nuns enjoy such privileges as enable them to live in comfortable, big houses.

'Poland holds first place in Europe for the number of Catholic periodicals. Their circulation amounts to 6,387,000.

' . . . 62 Catholic journals were published in Poland as compared with 20 such journals in France.'

659 In all the Army and police units of Poland there are official chaplains.

To demonstrate the devotion of the Communists to Catholicism, General Karol Swierczewski, commander of the

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International Brigade in Spain and an old Communist leader, was buried on 1st April, 1947, according to Roman Catholic rite and his coffin lowered to the sound of *De Profundis* chanted by Catholic clergy! (*Glos Ludu* 2nd April, 1947). 659

In Czechoslovakia the Government passed a bill by which all pastors were to become salaried officials of the State. The Church hierarchy, headed by Archbishop Beran, could not prevent nearly all the priests from accepting this, for lack of any large estates or other source of income made them financially dependent on the state. (The same fact—that the poverty of the Church secures its dependence on the state—led Catherine II, who was certainly not an atheist, to confiscate most of the lands of the Russian Orthodox Church). To facilitate the transference of the clergy's allegiance from the Pope in Rome to the Government in Prague, the Communist leaders pretended to behave like devout Catholics. Thus, for instance, Gottwald, immediately after being elected President, with his wife attended 'a special *Te Deum* service in the Cathedral at St. Vitus at which Archbishop Beran officiated. Neither President Masaryk nor President Beneš did this' (*The Times*, 15th June, 1948).

In Rumania, the Government used yet another method to subordinate the Catholic Church to itself. There were two Catholic Churches in the country, the Roman Catholic Church embracing about 1,200,000 people, and the Uniate Catholic Church embracing about 1,426,000 people. The Uniates are Christians of the Byzantine rite—which is almost identical with the Orthodox rite—who owe allegiance to the Pope. The Uniate Church was founded in Poland at the end of the sixteenth century and was introduced into Transylvania about a century later. It became a focal point for Ukrainian and Rumanian nationalism; hence it was a constant thorn in the Tsar's side. In the seventies of last century Tsar Alexander II, on the advice of the arch-reactionary Count Dimitri Tolstoy, suppressed the Uniate Church in the western provinces of the Russian empire. In 1945 the Uniates of Eastern Galicia (taken from Poland by Russia) were forced to join the Orthodox Church. Three years later the Uniates in Rumania suffered the same fate. The Rumanian Government arrested all the Bishops and many of the priests of the Uniate Church, as a

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659 result of which some priests convened a conference and decided to join the Orthodox Church. The property of the Uniate Church was also transferred to the Orthodox Church and the Uniate Church ceased to exist. The Roman Catholic Church, being very weak in Rumania (embracing not more than 6 per cent of the population) had to agree to the Government's Religious Law of August, 1948, making all priests state officials. The higher ranks of the Orthodox Church can only be filled 'after approval by the Presidium of the Grand National Assembly, given by decree, at the proposal of the government, following the recommendation of the Minister of Religion.'

The following extract from a broadcast by Radio Rumania on December 14th, 1948, symbolizes the limitation of 'religious freedom' in Rumania by police control: 'The Bucharest Police informs those whom it may concern in connection with carol singing at Christmas and the New Year that children under 12 can sing carols without authorization. Choirs and all other associations which sing carols must obtain authorization from the Bucharest Police Adminstrative Department. Applications must state, on the responsibility of the association's head, the name, age and occupation of each member and the part he takes in the choir. All members must carry identity cards.' (Quoted by *The Economist*, 25th December, 1948).

In Conclusion

From the review given above it is clear that while the regimentation of the Orthodox Churches in the satellites by the State was a simple and straightforward undertaking that has already been completed, the regimentation of the Catholic Church has been much more complicated, demanding undermining tactics instead of frontal attack, and it is not yet finished. To complete it, it will be necessary, it seems, either to include the Vatican in the Great Russian Empire, or to make the Catholics of Eastern Europe pay allegiance to another Pope (and thus repeat the case of the Popes of Avignon) or to turn the Churches into National Churches.

So far two inter-related reasons have been given for the policy of regimentation of religion in the satellites: 1. the impossibility of uprooting religious feeling in the people as long

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as the 'real misery' of poverty and oppression continues unmitigated; this became clear to the Kremlin, if not from a reading of Marx, from their own experience in trying to carry out the 'Five Year Plan of Atheism'; 2. The necessity under a totalitarian regime of leaving no field of social life free of State control. A third possible reason suggests itself. 659

Until the French Revolution the French bourgeoisie, on the whole, supported a materialistic philosophy, it was atheistic. Here and there were some deists among them, but there were hardly any supporters of the Church. After the victory of the Revolution they changed. The Church lost its feudal property, and the priests, convinced that the old regime had gone for good, were ready to accommodate themselves to the new rulers of France. At the same time the bourgeoisie began to fear its allies of yesterday, the sansculottes, even more than its enemies, the nobility, and it began to look upon the materialist philosophy as a danger and upon religion as a shield. Thus the bourgeoisie went over very quickly from materialism to deism (1793 to 1795) and then embraced the Catholic Church (the Concordat of 1801). Napoleon Bonaparte, the exponent *par excellence* of the desires of the *nouveaux riches* explained this new devotion to religion very succinctly: 'As far as I am concerned, I do not see in religion the mystery of the incarnation, but the mystery of the social order; it attaches to heaven an idea of equality which prevents the rich from being massacred by the poor.'

It is possible that this consideration accounts to some extent for the attitude to religion of the 'new aristocracy' of Stalin's empire also.